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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE

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NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

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February 3, 1956

The Honorable Harold E. Stassen
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Governor Stassen:

Thank you for your courteous telegram which reached me via Boston. I am very sorry that what was really only a first draft of an article should have received such wide circulation. Prior to receiving your telegram, the version which will appear in Foreign Affairs had already been rewritten. Since then, I have gone over it again to remove any impression that the phrase "there is no alternative to peace" in fact represents announced U. S. policy. The real thrust of my argument, in any case, concerned the alternatives which our military policy poses for our diplomacy and the risks which the Soviets may think they can run in certain circumstances. To be sure, we shall continue to insist that we will defend our vital interests, but what is vital does not seem to me to be something which can be determined in the abstract; it always reflects a calculus of risks and our willingness to run risks will diminish the more absolute the sanction which our military poses. Conversely, this same calculation may encourage the Soviets in probing actions. The article, therefore, is much less concerned with our announced policy than with the alternatives which we create for ourselves.

Be that as it may, I want you to know that the version of the article which will appear in Foreign Affairs has been looked through from the point of view of leaving no misunderstanding about our announced policy, primarily by incorporating the quotes which you were kind enough to supply to me.

I still remember your visits to the International Seminar with great pleasure and I hope you will repeat them next year.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

[Signature]
February 7, 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR Honorable Allen W. Dulles
Director
Central Intelligence Agency

At Mr. Stassen's request, I am forwarding
for your information a copy of a letter received
from Mr. Henry A. Kissinger of the Council on
Foreign Relations, Inc.

[Signature]
Joseph S. Toner
Executive Secretary
Disarmament Staff

Attachment

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